present notice.

SOME NEW BOOKS.

A New Life of Thomas Jefferson. We are indebted to Mr. James Schouler, th well-known author of the "History of th United States Under the Constitution," for brief but valuable study of the services an character of Thomas Jefferson (Dodd, Mead & Co.1. In preparing this sketch, the author has relied partly on the materials collected in his own History, partly on Randall's comprehensive biography, and partly on Jefferson's published writings. It cannot be said that any new facts are here presented, but they are brought together in an effective way, and sometimes from a new point of view. Although Mr. Schouler's admiration for his subject cannot be called undiscriminating, he heartly adopts Jeffersonian conception of American Institutions, and, therefore, his estimate may seem to need qualification to those whose sympathies are enlisted on the Federalist side Unly a very small part, however, of the book before us is devoted to Jefferson, considered as a party leader; more than half of the volume is allotted to an account of that part of his which preceded the mission to France That but one short chapter is assigned to his career in the Presidency need not be regretted. is view of the recent extended treatment of s theme by Mr. Henry Adams. The most interesting part of the book is that which deals with the eleven years intervening between Jefferson's return from France and his arst election to the Presidency. It is the author's comments on this period of Jefferson's life to which we shall couline ourselves in the

Jefferson did not reach New York on his return from Paris until March 21, 1700, a full year after the establishment of Washington's first Administration, in which he was to fill the office of Secretary of State. What views had the author of the Declaration of Independence formed of the new and more per fect Union which had been projected and set in operation while he remained abroad? n had sailed from America in 1784 im pressed with the idea that a few simple amendments might supply the old Confederacy with the vigor needed to maintain it. He was not one of those who believed that America was lansing into anarchy. Not even the Shays insurrection in Massachusetts disturbed his equanimity; for, applying the arithmetical argument to which he was addicted, he pointed out that an insurrection in one of thirteen States in the course of eleven years of union would amount to but one in any particula-State for nearly a century and a half. That would represent, he said, a smaller num-ber of insurrections than had occurred under any other Government upon which the sun ever shone. Moreover, he did not wish such tumults punished severely. He deemed the enlightenment of public opinion more import ant than a rigorous enforcement of law. On this point he made a characteristic remark, which is quoted in the book before us: "The basis of our Government being the opinion of the masses of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and, were it left to me to decide whether we should have a Government without newspapers or newspapers without a Government. I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter; but I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them."

Madison had kept his distant friend informed of the movement for an improved Constitution at every successive stage; and, after the doors of the secret convention of 1787 had swung open at Philadelphia, revealing the plan of a new composite Government under a new Constitution, he sent to Jefferson a copy of the document. Jefferson's first impression were about as much favorable as unfavorable; was, however, so disappointed at finding that neither a bill of rights nor rotation in the Presidential chair had been provided for, that be declared himself "nearly a neutral." He would have fixed the tenure of the Executive office at seven years, and would have made the President ineligible to a second term. the other hand, he liked the idea of a central Government, which could be carried on without recurrence to the States for financial support: he approved, also, of the separation of the Executive and the judiciary from the Legislature and of a Congress composed of two Houses. In the end he aided the adop tion of the instrument in his native State. where many of his political friends, like Patrick Henry, showed themselves stubborn and irreconcilable, but he insisted that the acceptance of the Constitution should be coupled with the proposal of new amendments, by way of appeal to the public honor, after the example he had admired in Massachusetts. When he arrived in New York in 1790 to discharge the functions of Secretary of State, the constitutional amendments which he had most desired-all excepting the provision for one long term of Presidential tenurehad been duly proposed by Congress to the States, and were in course of adoption. He had been pleased while still abroad to see a simple title conferred by Congress upon America's Chief Magistrate—we know from Maciay's journal of the secret debates in the Senate with how much difficulty this was brought about-and he entertained a too sanguine hope that such appellations as Excellency. Worship, Esquire, and even Mr. would soon disappear from among us. Jefferson had left France affame with the full

fervor of natural rights and zealous for the world's reformation, and he was amazed and mortified at the preferences he heard expressed by Federalist leaders in New York for British and hereditary Government. "An apostate I could not be." he writes of such discussions nor yet a hypocrite; and I found myself for the most part the only advocate on the Republican side of the question, unless among the guests there chanced to be some member that party from the legislative Houses." Even his friend John Adams he found losing the resentment against British forms which the two had cherished in common when dance ing vain attendance in Downing street. Purge the British Constitution of its cor-Puption." once observed Vice-President Adams in the freedom of a dinner party, "and give to its popular branch equality of repre-sentation, and it would be the most perfect Constitution ever devised by the wit of man. To which Hamilton replied, after a pause: Purge it of its corruption and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would become an impracticable Govern-ment: as it stands at present, with all its defects, it is the most perfect Government which ever existed." It follows that Hamilton, had be lived in England in 1830, would have vehemently sided with the Tories in opposing

Very different were the prepossessions, beliefs, and aims of Thomas Jefferson. Quick and intuitive in his perceptions, of intense convictions and strongly emotional stung at heart, too, by the thought that the new French revolution, which had so stirred his sympathy, should be viewed by leading minds at home through the cold medium of British misconception, Jefferson speedily entered upon the task of writing down the men who surrounded the first President and bringing putlie opinion to bear for their eventual discomfiture. Beginning in his private letters to warn his friends against "a sect among us who believe that the English Constitution is perfect." he presently wrote of Hamilton and Vice-President Adams as leaders of a British faction whose efforts, more or less secret, were to draw America toward "that half-way house" of monarchy. "British faction" was a phrase which galled. Hamilton, Knox. Gouverneur Morris, and certain Eastern Fed eralists were the men chiefly impaled by it and Jefferson in return was widely denounced by them as a false generalizer, a worshipped of France, a philosopher of crude abstractions, a hypocrite, a flatterer of the people. or, as one intelligent Federalist went so far

as to style him, a "semi-maniae." The political party which Jefferson founded

name he constantly adhered; for, though he favored sealously the modern French philosophy of liberty, equality, and fraternity for all mankind, he had the penetration to discern that neither France nor the American repub lie was yet ripe for the experiment of placing absolute sovereignty in the hands of the com mon people. Even in the first flush of French enthusiasm he would not lend his sanction to the new party term of Democrat: nor to those Democratic clubs which America's chief cities for a short time after the model of the French Jacobin societies. In France, the downfall of Robespierre brought about the ruin of the Jacobin clubs, while their mitators in our own country, the Democratic clubs, sank in 1794 under the political odium of the whisker insurrection in western Pennsylvania, which they had abetted, and under the stigma of "self-created societies," affixed by Washington's message sent that year to Congress. Mr. Schouler notes that Jefferson would not suffer this epithet to pass unchallenged because its too sweeping application showed an imperfect apprehension of the basis upor which all popular parties in a republic like ours must eventually rest. Jefferson resigned the post of Secretary of

State at the close of 1793, and except Monroe, who soon repented his willingness, none of the statesmen who shared Jefferson's political tenets, would consent to hold responsible office under Washington's Administration From the moment of my retiring from the Administration," says Jefferson, when reviewing this period in the preface to his "Anas." the Federalists got unchecked hold of Gen. Washington. His memory was already sen sibly impaired by age; the firm tone of mind for which he had been remarkable was begin ing to relax; its energy was abated; a listlessness for labor, a desire for tranquillity, had crept on him, and a willingness to let others act and even think for him. Like the rest of mankind, he was disgusted with the atrocities of the French revolution, and was not suff ciently aware of the difference between the rabble who were used as instruments of their perpetration, and the steady and rational character of the American people, in which he had not sufficient confidence." No decided rupture, however, took place between these great Virginians; the two met courteously in public at Adams's inauguration: but their correspondence and private intercourse ceased, and a letter written by Jeffer son in 170% to Mazzei, an Italian revolutionist and published a year later, which made allusion to the shorn "Samsons in the field," was held up by the Federalists to popular execration long after Washington's death as a sacrilegious affront to Washington's inviolable person. Jefferson always disclaimed the intention of such an application, and the mass of voters, at all events, refused to censure him. Mr. Schouler, however, pronounces it very certain that Jefferson did not echo the current rhapsodies which magnified the first President into an infallible demigod. That he had written from his distant retreat to private friends in Congress with less veneration for Washington's good judgment on some points of policy than for his personal virtues and honesty is susceptible of proof by more conclusive testimony than the once celebrated Mazzel letter. Yet the author of this sketch does Jefferson the justice to add that political differences of opinion never blinded him to the transcendent qualities of Washington's character, which he had known long and intimately enough to appreciate, while alive to its possible limitations.

It will be remembered that in the Presidential contest of 1796 a change of two electoral votes frem one side to the other would have made Jefferson President instead of Adams. As it was, under the constitutiona regulation which then obtained, Jefferson, having received the next highest number of electoral votes, became Vice-President, Although permitting, of course, the use of his name by party friends. Jefferson had professed through out the campaign the greatest indifference for public office, and even before the electora colleges met had declared that he wished his friend Adams to take precedence of him. Mr. Schouler deems it not unlikely that he hoped to detach his old Revolutionary ally from the British wing of the Federalists by aggravating his secret resentment against Hamilton. It is suggested that, in his new part of Republican leader, Jefferson, although always sincere and consistent in his politics, developed something more than skill and tact for organizing-an adroitness rather, and an artful cajolery such as partly though by no means fully justified the reputation for dissimulation which he presently acquired among political enemies. With tranquil good humor he felicitated him

self on his escape from the highest honor plored the folly of a constitutional provision show of hands. which placed the chief of a rival party where he would incur no responsibility, predicted, with unerring foresight, that President and Vice-President would now for four years jostle each other like two suns in the meridian, and then the Vice would be first. John Adams himself seems to have entered upon the Prestdency with a corresponding disposition to con-ciliate his distinguished rival. At that juncture the relations of the United States with France had reached a point of extreme tension, and an extraordinary commission was to be sent at once to Paris in a last effort to propitiate the Directory. Adams, before asking the advice of his Cabinet, broached his plans freely to Jefferson, and, after expressing the wish that the Vice-President himself might serve upon this democratic errand-which both, however, concluded very quickly would be unbecoming an officer of the second dignity-he asked Jefferson to find out whether Madison could be induced to become one of the three envoys. Jefferson consulted Madison, who declined, as he himself had expected; and as for Adams, he found the opposition to a Republican appointment so strong among his Cabinet advisers, who were a legacy from Washington's Administration, that he dropped the idea and met Jefferson with embarrassing excuses on the next opportunity. From that time forward the Vice-President was never consulted upon the plans of this Administration. John Adams, in the last stage of the next Presidential contest, offended Jefferson by his refusal to frown down the machinations of the Federalists in Congress, who, when the choice of President fell to the House of Representatives, were disposed to select Burn instead of Jefferson. At this juncture Adams and Jefferson parted in anger, and the breach was further widened when the outgofor that purpose. ing President proceeded to fill all the offices he could possibly lay hands upon for the advantage of his party. The principle upon which Adams acted was that to the vanquished belong the spoils. At midnight of March 3, 1801, Marshall, the Federalist Secretary of State, was found with his clerks making

makers of America. As to the merit of his ponot be sent in by petition, but may be offered litical philosophy, the test applied by Parton by any one on the spot. is approved: "If Jefferson was wrong, America is wrong; if America is right, Jefferson was right." His intuitions and his teaching were those of the nineteenth century; and in the nineteenth century's experiment with democracy must lie his vindication or his condemnation. While the most distinguished of his contemporaries were for repressing popular tendencies, he insisted upon giving them free scope and that they attained it is due principally to him. It has come to pass that

out commissions by candle light; and, at sun-

rise on March 4. ex-President Adams hastened

in his carriage from the forest encompassed

capital, beginning his journey to Massachu-

setts on a day and at an hour which precluded

a decorous attendance at the inauguration of

Schouler notes that alone of later Presidents.

his son, the second Adams, who inherited his

the induction of a successful opponent.

bitterness of temper, refused to be present at

In the author's concluding chapter, the fact

is duly recognized that Jefferson remains a

creative force in American life, one of the chief

his whilom friend and official successor. Mr.

contributed to form that of his country. How true this is will be evident when one recalls low many of his personal ideas and purposes have become national and permanent. Liberal ducation, liberal politics. liberal religion: a free press; America for Americans; faith in simple arts of peace. in science, in material progress, in popular rule, popular honesty, in Government economy; no kings, no caste, room for the oppressed of all nations; hostlify to monopolies, the divorce of Government from banks, from per corporations, and from every form of paternalism; foreign friendship and intercourse without foreign alliances; the gradual propagation of republican ideas on this Western hemisphere. while gently pushing Europe out: meagre force establishmenta; meagre preparations for war in time of peace; a leaning toward militia and State volunteers for defence in mergencies rather than dependence upon national troops and pratorian guards; faith in ne indefinite expansion of the Union and of the practice of self-government upon this con ment, to the ultimate complete exclusion of cantonal councils, or ad referend monarchical institutions; all this, though A cantonal initiative now exists in fourteen others also have inculcated some of the maxof the twenty-two cantons, most of which are ims, is Jeffersonism, and Jeffersonism is

Direct Legislation in Switzerland and the

United States In a notice of the late Prof. Freeman's "Hisory of lederal Government" we adverted to the strange omission to mark the extent to which direct legislation in the form of popular initiative, as well as of ultimate decision, is applied in Switzerland, to federal as well as ommunal and cantonal affairs. Throughout that work the author seemed to take for granted that a community must renounce the adventages of a pure democracy and adopt some kind of representative government the moment it becomes impracticable for all its citizens to meet in one general assembly. That the assumption is ill founded in the sense that a large population may serve to itself large powers of direct legislation, while delegating relatively limited powers to legislators. Is proved by the case of Switzerland, which contains at the present time considerably more white inhabitants than were included within the thirteen American colonies during the Revolutionary war. Moreover, in the United States themselves there are already many more examples of the reference of proposed laws to the people for ultimate decision than are observed by most students of our political institutions, who commonly speak of our municipal, county, State and Federal Governments as all based exclusively upon the representative principle. We have long needed a book specially devoted to the purpose of showing how imperfectly this assumption corresponds to the facts, even in the case of our own country, and more conspicuously in that of Switzerland. Such a book has been prepared by Mr. J. W. SULLIVAN, and brought out through the Twentieth Century Publishing Company. It bears the title of Direct Legislation Through the Initiative and Referenlum. So far as this work deals with Switzerland, it differs from other books on the same subject by concentrating attention, not on the applications, but on the limitations of the representative principle, and the result is a demonstra tion that the extent to which direct legislation is exercised by the Swiss people is already great, and is constantly increasing. In a supplemental chapter, the author adduces a surprising number of instances in which the referendum is already practised in the United States, and points out that this mode of direct egislation is frequently employed among American labor associations.

Let us look at some of the facts which Mr. Sullivan brings forward. There are in Switzerland twenty-two cantons or States, which are subdivided into 2.706 communes or townships. The political as well as territorial unit is the commune, which, so far as may be consistent with cantonal and federal rights, governs itself. It has its own property to look after, and is jealous of interference on the part of the larger political bodies. Except where the interests of the canton or of the confederation manifestly superseds those of the immediate locality, the commune declines to part with the administration of its lands, forests, roads, police, schools, churches, and taxes. Throughout Switzerland the adult male inhabitants of a commune meet at least once annually, usually in the town market place or on a mountain plain, and carry out their citizen is a legislator, his voice and vote influencing the question at issue. To every citizen, moreover, belongs the right of initiating a Decision is ordinarily made by Similar examples of purely democratic legislation are afforded in two of the cantons as

cantons, and in two other cantons divided into half cantons. In the half canton of Outer Appenzell 13,500 voters are qualified to meet and legislate, and the number actually assembled sometimes reaches 10,000. This, however, is the largest number ever witnessed in such an assembly, which is known as a Landsgemeinde; the lowest number of persons meeting in a canton or half canton being about 3,000. In communal political assemblies. on the other hand, only a few hundred voters usually take part. The yearly cantonal or half cantonal Landsgemeinde, or popular assembly, takes place on a Sunday in April or May. While the powers and duties of such a body vary somewhat in the different cantons which possess the institution they usually cover the following subjects: Partial as well as total revision of the cantonal constitution; enactment of all laws; imposition of direct taxes; contracting of State debts and alienation of public domains; the granting of public privileges; the admission of foreigners to cantonal citizenship; the establishment of new offices and the regulation of salaries; and. finally, the election of cantonal officers, whether administrative or judicial. The programme for the meeting is arranged by the officials and published beforehand. For further light on the working of the institution, we are indebted to Mr. J. M. Vincent, a passage from whose essay on "State and Federal Government of Switzerland" is quoted in the book before us. To give opportunities for individuals and communal authorities to make proposals and offer bills, the official gazette of the canton announces every January that, for fourteen days after a given date, petitions may be presented These must be must plainly state the object and set forth the grounds of the proposal. All such motions are considered by what is called the Triple Council, or legislature of the canton, and are classified as expedient and inexpedient. A proposal receiving more than ten votes must be placed on the list of the expedient, accompanied by the opinion of the council. The rejected proposals are placed under a special rubric. familiarly called by the people the Beiwagen, or extra coach. The popular assembly may reverse the action of the council if it chooses and take a measure out of the "extra coach." but, in that case, a consideration of it is deferred until the next year. In the larger cantonal assemblies debate is excluded, a vote being simply taken on rejection or adoption; in the smaller states, the prohibition of discussion is not so rigorously enforced. Votes are taken by show of hands, though a recourse may be made to a secret ballot if it be de manded. The elections of officers follow the same rule in regard to this matter as legislation. Nominations for office, however, need

Obviously, the fundamental principles of exists) are the following: First, that every citizen shall have the right to propose a measwas styledgy him "Republican." and to that | Jofferson's individual character has powerfully | voting the acceptance or the rejection of | one hundred and forty-nine federal laws and

the measures proposed. The latter principle, when applied in non-Landsgemeinde cantons through ballotings at polling places on measures sent from legislative bodies to the people. is known as the referendum. The initiative has been practised in many of the communes and in the Landsgemeinde cantons under one form or another from time immemorial. During the last twenty years, however, it has been practised by petition in an increasing number of the cantons which do not have democratic assemblage of all the citizens. The referendum owes its origin to two sources. One source was the vote habitually taken at the communal meetings and in the Landagemeinde, where that institution existed. The principle was sometimes extended to cities, some sixty referendary votings having taken place in Berne between 1400 and 1524. The other source was the vote which all the ancient cantons were wont to take on any act of their delegates to the federal diet or Congress, these delegates undertaking no affair except on condition of referring it to the

far too large for the practical operation of the Landsgemeinds. In some of these, however, the cantona! initiative may be applied only to amendments of the canton's constitution. Usually the proposal of a cantonal law by popular initiative must be made through petition by from one-twelfth to onesixteenth of the voters of the canton. When the petition reaches the cantonal legislature. the latter body is obliged, within a brief period, to refer the proposal to a cantonal vote. If the decision of the citizens is then favorable the measure becomes a law, and the executive and judicial officials must proceed to carry it into effect. So much for the cantonal initiative, which only gradually and in comparatively recent years has been adopted in cantons outside of those which possess a Landscameinde. The cantonal referendum, on the other hand, is in constant practice in all the cantons except Freiburg. The extent, however, to which it is applied va ries considerably. In two cantons the referendum is applicable only to financial meas ures: In others it is optional with the people. who sometimes demand it, but oftener do not; in still others it is obligatory in connection with the passage of every law. Thus, in the canton of Vaud. a mere pseudo-referendary right exists, under which the Grand Council or egislature may, if it so decide, direct a reference to the citizens. Valaistakes a popular vote only on such propositions passed by the Grand Council as involve an increase of 15 per cent. in taxation, or a total expenditure of \$12,000. With increasing confidence in the people, the cantons of Lucerne, Geneva, Souchatel. Rale City, and four others refer a proposed law, after it has passed the Grand Council to the voters whenever a certain proportion of the citizens, usually one sixth to one-fourth, demand it by formal petition. This is called the optional referendum-Again, in Berne, Zurich, Aargau, Thurgau, and four other cantons, no law can be passed, nor an any expenditure beyond a stipulated sum be made by the cantonal legislature without ratifying vote of the people. This is known as the obligatory referendum.

It must not be supposed that, as regards diect cantonal legislation, the Switzerland of to-day is merely the outcome of the republic which has lasted for 600 years. The truth is that, if we leave out of view the few cantons and half cantons which have always possessed the Landsgemeinde, or assembly of the whole neople. Switzerland is incomparably more democratic than it was in the early part of the present century. The federal referendum, as applicable to federal laws, distinguished rom constitutional amendments, began only in 1874. The federal initiative was not adopted until 1891. The form of cantonal referendum now practised in the cantons which do not possess a Landsgemeinde was not introduced until 1830 (in St. Gall), and forty years ago only five non-Landsgemeinde cantons had any referendum whatever, and these had one of the optional type. It is of very late years that a steady and widespread movement has caused the general adoption of the cantonal eferendum. In 1860, but 34 per cent. of the Swiss possessed it, all the rest delegating their sovereign rights to representatives; today the proportion of those enjoying some form of the referendum is as 90 to 10. Today, moreover, there is a strong tendency toward the substitution of the obligatory for functions as citizens. There they debate pro-posed laws, name officers, and discuss affairs the optional type. The practice of the opfects, none of which is observed in the workings of the obligatory referendum. The eration of the latter may be exemplified by the canton of Zurich, where it is provided that all laws, decrees, and changes in the constitution must be submitted to the people; that all decisions of the Grand Council or cantonal legislature on existing law must he voted on; that the Grand Council may submit decisions it proposes itself to make, and that besides the voting on the whole law the Council may ask for a vote on a special point. In Zurich the Grand Council cannot put in force, even provisionally, any law or decree. The proposals must be sent to the voters a least thirty days before voting. The regular referendary ballotings take place twice a year. spring and autumn, but in urgent cases the Grand Council may call for a special balloting. The law in this canton is at pains to assist the voters or lawmakers in their task; when a citizen is casting his own vote, he is empowered to deposit also that of one or two relatives and friends, upon presenting their electoral card or a certificate of authorization. In fine, the obligatory referendum makes of the whole body of citizens in a Swiss canton or State a deliberative body in perpetual session. The opponents of the institution used to lay stress on the objection that it would be continually calling the voters to the urns; this is now avoided by the semi-annual balloting. It was formerly apprehended, also, that party tickets would be voted without regard to the merits of the various measures submitted; but it has been indisputably proven that the fate of one proposition has no effect whatever on that of nother decided at the same time. Zurich has pronounced on ninety-one laws in twentyeight elections, the votes indicating surprising independence of judgment. We may note. lically, that when the obligatory form of the cantonal referendum was proposed for Zurich. ta supporters themselves had some misgivings out the instrument should prove a costly one. Now, however, they have the data to show that taxes are lower than they were before those levied for the support of the police, for instance, being only about half as large as those collected in Geneva, a less populous canton, but where the referendum is optional.

The Constitution of the Swiss Confederation. stablished in 1848, provided for its own revision by popular initiative and by a referendum. If 50,000 voters petition for a revision. or the Federal Assembly (such is the collective name of the two Houses of the Swiss Congress) demand it, the question is submitted to the whole tody of electors. If the responsive vote is in the affirmative, the Council of States senate) and the National Council (House of Representatives) are both dissolved. An elecion of these bodies takes place at once, where upon the Congress, fresh from the people, akes the revision, and submits the revised Constitution to the country. To stand, it must belaccepted not only by a majority of the voters. but by a majority of the twenty-two cantons.

When the Swiss Federal Constitution was revised in 1874, the application of the referendum was extended from constitutional amend ments to ordinary legislation. The form of both the communal meetings and of the the principle adopted is the optional. The de-Landsgemeinde (in the four cantons where it mand for the referendum must be made by thirty thousand citizens, or by eight cantons. and within ninety days after the publication ure of law to his fellow citizens, this principle of a law. It is operative with respect either to being known as the initiative; secondly, that a statute passed by the Federal Assembly or being known as the initiative; secondly, that a statute passed by the Federal Assembly or the majority shall actually enact a law by to a decree of the Executive power. Of the

decrees subject to the referendum passed between 1874 and the close of 1891, twenty-seven vers challenged by the necessary thirty thousand petitions; on the submission of these twenty-seven to the people fifteen were rejected and twelve accepted. We note, finally, that a federal initiative was established by a vote taken on July 5. 1801. It requires fifty thousand titioners, whose proposal must be be discussed by the Federal Assembly, and then submitted within a prescribed delay to the whole body of electors. The initiative is not a petition to the legislative body; it is a demand made on the entire electorate, and is merely

transmitted through the legislature. Here, then, we have a mass of evidence drawn from the experience of Switzerland that pure democracy through direct legislation by the whole body of voters is practicable in large communities. As to the result of the institution, it is certain that in every Swiss canton which, like Zurich, has the initiative and the obligatory referendum, all power has been stripped from the officials except that of a stewardship, which is continually supervised and controlled by the voters themselves. Yet a few years and it is possible that the affairs not only of every canton in Switzerland, but of the confederation itself, will thus be taken in hand by the electors.

There is no doubt that great attention is beginning to be paid in England to the example of Switzerland as regards the modification of representative government by the direct intervention of the people through the initiative and the referendum. Mr. Balfour has already avowed himself a convert to the Swiss system. and it is possible that the Conservative party will advocate its adoption as the sole practicable bulwark against rash and socialistic legislation. Nor is it certain that the English Radicals would as a body oppose it, though a wide application of the referendum. especially in the obligatory form, was opposed

in Switzerland by the extreme democratic party. The British trade unions, that consti tute a large proportion of the Radical rank and file, have long been accustomed to practise both the initiative and referendum in their corporate concerns. But how should these features of the Swiss system strike Ameri cans? That is the question which Mr. Sullivan undertakes to answer in an important chapter. Can the initiative and referendum of Switzerland be fairly described as foreign methods, and would there be any difficulty in

engrafting them on our American system? Mr. Sullivan's reply is that direct legislation is not foreign to this country. Since the settle ment of New England it has been practised in the town meetings an institution gradually spreading throughout the Western States, and, of recent years, with increased rapidity. The referendum with respect to State laws like wise has appeared under several forms in every part of the Union. Moreover, in the field of labor organizations, and especially in several of the more carefully managed national unions, recourse is habitually made to direct legislation. It follows that the institu tion does not require to be engrafted on the Amercan system; it is here, and only needs to be naturally developed.

The town meeting of New England is the counterpart of the political meeting of the Swiss commune. Both assemblies represent the primary form of the politico-social organization. Both lie at the foundation of the structure of the State. The essential objects of both are identical, namely, to enact local regulations, to elect local officers, to fix local taxation, and to make appropriations for local purposes. In the one meeting, as in the other any citizen may propose measures, and these it is for the majority to accept or reject. In word, the working principles of New England town and Swiss commune alike are the initia tive and the referendum. In a recent study of the town-meeting system, Mr. H. L. Nelson has brought out many convincing facts as to its superiority over government by a town board. For instance, where the cost for public lighting in a New England town has been but \$2,000, in a New York town of the same size it has amounted to \$11,000. The cities of Worcester, Mass. and Syracuse, N. Y., each containing about 80,000 inhabitants, were compared, with the result that the New England city was shown to be governed in every respect more economically. The fact is patent to every observer that New England towns are superior to towns in other parts of the country, with regard to the extent of sewers and pased New England is vastly less than the aggregate for an equivalent population in the Middle States. In their fire and police departments and in their public school and water supply system New England towns excel the rest of the country. The influence of the town-meeting government upon the physical character of the locality, upon the high ways and bridges, and upon the appearance of the bridges is familiar to all who have travelled through New England. The excellen roads, the stanch bridges, the trim, tree shaded streets, the universal signs of thrift and of the people's pride in the outward aspects of their villages, are too well known to be dwelt upon. In every New England community many of the men are qualified by experience to take charge of a public meeting and conduct its proceedings with some regard to the forms observed in parliamentary bodies Elsewhere in the Union few of the citizen: have any knowledge of such forms and observances. In New England there is not a voter who may not, and very few voters who do not actively participate in the work of government. In the other sections of the country, except those that have adopted the New England system, hardly any one takes part in public affairs except the officeholder. John Fiske in his "Civil Government in the United States," has recognized that the general tendency toward the spread of township government in the more recently settled parts of the United States is unmistakable. The first Western State to borrow the town-meeting system was Michigan, but it now provails in four-fifths of the counties of Illinois, in onesixth of Missouri, where it was started in 1870, and in one-third of the countles of Nebraska. which adopted it in 1883, while it has been carried much further in Minnesota and Dakota, in which States it has been prescribed by law since 1878 and 1883 respectively. Fiske notes that, within its proper sphere, government by town meeting is the form of government most effectively under watch and control. Everything is done in the full daylight of puplicity. The specific objects for which public money is to be appropriated are discussed in the presence of everybody, and any one who disapproves of any of these objects, or of the way proposed for its attainment, has an opportunity of declaring his opinion. Although

the people for a vote in every State except Delaware. The significance of this fact and the resemblance of this consultation of the people to the Swiss referendum becomes manifest when one considers the subject matter of a State Constitution. In our day such a Constitution usually limits a legislature to a short. bicanial session, and defines in detail what laws the legislature may and may not pass. In effect, then, when adopting a Constitution once in ten or twenty years the voters of a State decide upon admissible legislation. Thus they themselves are the roal legislators. Among the matters once left entirely to legislatures, but now commonly dealt with in Constitutions, are the following: Prohibiting or regulating the liquor traffic, probibiting or chartering lotteries determining tax rates, founding and locating State schools and other State institutions, establishing a legal rate of interest, flxing the salaries of public officials, drawing up railroad and other corporation regulations, and defining the relations of husbands and wives, and of debtors and creditors. In line with these reservations is a tendency to easy amendment. In nearly all the new States, and in those older ones which have recently revised their Constitutions, the time in which amendments may be effected is, as a rule, but half of that formerly required. Where once the approval of two successive legislatures was exacted, now the consent of one is held sufficient. To return for a moment to the subjects of legislation reserved by State Constitutions to the people, we may note that in fifteen States, until submitted to a popular vote, no law changing the location of the capital is valid: in seven, no laws establishing banking corporations can be made; in eleven, no laws for incurring debts excepting such as are specified in the Constitution; in several, no rate of assessment exceeding a figure propor tionate to the aggregate valuation of the taxable property can be imposed by law. the referendum Illinois cannot sell its State canal: Minnesota cannot pay interest or principal of the Minnesota Railroad; North Carolina cannot extend the credit of the State to aid any person or corporation, except to help certain railroads unfinished in 1870. With the referendum Colorado may adopt woman's suffrage and create a debt for public build-

ings; Texas may fix a location for a college for

colored youth; Wyoming may decide on the

sites for its State university, insane asylum.

There are also in the United States numer-

ous examples of the referendum being ap-

and penitentiary.

plied in political communities larger than a ownship and smaller than a State. Nineteen State Constitutions guarantee to countles the right to fix by the vote of their citizens the location of their county seats. So also usually a referendum is permitted with regard to county lines and the division of counties. Several Western States leave it to a vote of the counties to determine when they shall adopt the township organization with town meetings; several States permit their cities to decide when they shall also be counties. There are debt and tax regulations that may be passed on only by the people of counties, cities, boroughs, and school districts. Without the referendum no municipality in Pennsylvania may contract an aggregate debt beyond two per cent. of the assessed valuation of its taxable property; no municipalities in certain other States may incur in any year an indebtedness beyond their revenues; no local governments in the new States of the West may contract any loans whatever; none in some other States may exceed certain limits in tax rates. With the referendum, on the other hand, certain Southern communities may make harbor improvements. and other communities may pledge the local credit on behalf of railroad and water transportation companies and similar corporations. The prohibition of the liquor business in a county or city is often left to the popular vote; indeed, local option is the ommonest form of referendum. In California, any city with more than ten thousand inhabitants may frame charter for its own government, which, howver, must be approved by the Legislature. Under this law Stockton, San José, Los Angeles, and Oakland have acquired new charters. In the State of Washington cities of 20,-000 inhabitants may make their own charters, and the legislature has no power of veto. It is obvious that, in such cases, the cities make their own laws in a large measure. Looking back over all these facts we see that, as regards States, counties, cities, and townships, the referendum is very widely practised in the United States, if not to so great an extent as in Switzerland. That the existence and effect of the practice has been in a considerable degree lost sight of, is due to the vast size of the country and to the loose and unsystematised character of the institution as it here obtains.

VIII. A final word as to the employment of direct legislation in American labor organization. From the statistics brought together by Mr. Sullivan, we learn that, at present, the initiaive and referendum are applied with more or less thoroughness in ten national unions. comprehending nearly 200,000 members, and all associated with the American Federation of Labor. To the International Cigarmakers' Union direct legislation has long been famillar. Amendments to its constitution, the acts of its executive, and even the resolutions passed at conventions are submitted to a vote by ballot in the local unions. The nineteenth annual convention held in September, 1891. provisionally adopted 114 amendments to the constitution and 33 resolutions on various matters. All of these 147 propositions were printed in full in the official journal for October and voted on in the 310 unions throughout America in November. The initiative is applied in this international union through local unions. When twenty of the latter have passed favorably on a measure it must be submitted to the entire body. The introduction of the referendum in this great union has been very gradual. It began in 1877 with voting on constitutional amendments. The most recent and perhaps last possible step was to transfer the election of the General Executive Board from the annual convention to the whole body of members. Another example of the employment of direct legislation is afforded by the International Typographical Union. In 1890 the local unions embraced in this association. then numbering nearly 200, voted on twenty five propositions submitted from the annual convention. In the following year fourteen propositions were in the same way made the subjects of a referendum.

It was probably the consideration of these facts, or some of them, that led Mr. Bryce, the author of "American Commonwealths," to see more advantages than demerits in direct legislation. After pointing out that the im-. provement of legislatures is just what Ameriprovement of legislatures is just what Americans despired, not declaring his coinion. Although the inhabitant of a New England town may think and talk loosely about the Government of his State, or the still more remote Government of his State, or the still more remote Government at Washington, he is kept pretty close to the facts where local affairs are concerned, and in this there is a political training of no small value. The same writer remarks in the New England towns at tendency to retain good men in office such as a been observed in Switzerland. The annual election affords the means of dropping an unsatisfactory officer. Yet in practice, nothing is more elected as selectmen or constables or town clerks year after year, as long as they are willing or able to serve. In another particular, the New England township resembles the Swiss commune: some of the town officials serve without pay, and none of them receives an excitating to the advance of direct legislature may be greater than his interest as not of the community in averting but of the community in averting the day of the da cans despair of, or, as they would prefer to

INDIAN BUNCO STIERERS. mple Games by Which the Unwary Are Robbed Among the Rocky Mountains ALDUQUERQUE, Aug. 10,-If any one wants olearn something of the advancement made by the Indians in the ways of the white man let him come to New Mexico with Albuquerque as a starting point for his investigations. He will find here Pueblo Indian girls and women quite equal in their way to the most artful bunco steerer of the metropolis. In fact, one does not have to stop in New Mexico to see something of their dolars, for ther board every train that passes through this town and the number of their victims is legion. The particular game of the Pueblo girl is the sale of ancient Zuni pottery, or pottery from prehistoric rains, and the methods of the swindle are models of simplicity. The passenger, as the train pulls up at a station, sees a lot of queerly dressed fadian girls climb on the train and invade the cars. Each one carries a basket, and each basket is full of pots, jars, bowls, &c., made of clay, but almost every

article is too small for any practical use. Each

one passing down the niste offers her wares

for sale, as curiosities made by her people, and

the price of each piece is but five cents. Natur-

ally there is a very good demand among hast-

ern people, and, as the little clay dishes are of Indian make, the sale is legitimate. But as

the sales are made, the girls manage to turn

the thoughts of the buyers to the crockery

found among the cliff dweilings or other ruins. "This was made last week," one will say. It is not from the graves " The least show of interest in the remark about pottery from the graves is noted and stimulated by the girl, and then she goes away. She has none of the old pottery, but her mother has a little piece or two. Soon the mother comes in and goes to the one interested in ancient pottery. She, too, has a basket with pots and bowls and jars. The girl's stuff was clean and bright; that in the old squaw's basket is covered with dust. It is handled with great care, and undue efforts to clean it are resented on the plea that the stuff is fragile. The old woman talks very little English, but she gives the tenderfoot the idea that the ancient pottery is very scarce, meantime she sizes up the victim, so to speak, in order to flx on a price. If he looks like a man of small means he can buy a piece of her muddy pottery for 25 cents. If he has the air of a winning man who has struck it

ri h and is bound East to visit old friends the

of her muddy pottery for 25 cents. If he has the air of a winning man who has struck it ri h and is bound East to visit old friends the price will run from \$1 to \$5 apiece.

To one who is familiar with the pottery found in the old graves the fraud is transparent. The old squaw has pottery no more ancient than that sold by her daughter at a nickel a piece. It is put in a damp and musty place for a time to give it an earthy smell, and then it is ready for market.

Another trick worked on the white men by the Indians is in a game of chance. Sometimes dice are used, though usually ordinary cards, but the game played is always one of Indian invention. As the trains arrive at stations where water is to be taken by the engines, or a meal by the passengers, a group of Indians is found engaged in the game. Their ploturesque attire and their manifest interest in the game both attract attention, and pasengers are sure to gather around. Immediately a capper (who is always an old Indian, who has posed as a spectator, begins to explain the game, but because of his broken language no one learns anything about it until after looking over the shoulders of various players, or doing something else equally unfair, he announces that a certain one of the players is sure to win, and slyly offers to place some of the money of the spectators where it will win a share in the pot of money that is up. He will put up anything from a nickel to a dollar or more, and not a lew passengers chip in ten cents or a quarter "just to see how the thing works."

Of course the thing, the quarter, works into the pot, and there it stays. The game did not turn out as the capper had promised. The capper being in no disgrace with the passengers, the one who won the pot will offer to place money for those with sporting blood, Usually this winner is a half-breed girl with more or less comely features, and, because the speciators are for the most part men from the smoking car, she has no trouble in working sundry small coins from their pockets, and never a ret

ton handkerchief he lies in wait for the stranger who seems to have money. The viestranger who seems to have money. The viestranger who seems to have money. The viestranger who seems to rely actional, it attracts attention, of course, and the greedy white man wants to know where it came from.

From that moment the progress of the game is easy and simple. The Indian will not talk, and the white man suggests a drink, hoping to loosen the stolid tongue. One drink is followed by another, and after many drinks the Indian will talk. He will, he says, also show where the gold came from and where there are stacks more like it, or better—always provided that he is paid well in advance to do so.

One wonders at the guilibility of the whites. It should be plain to any one that if this indian could go into the mountains and gather up an ounce—sometimes a handful is promised—off gold nuggets in a day, he would go and de it, and seil the gold for the blankets, the gaudy clothes, the guns, the pistols, the knives, and other things which he gets from the white man as the price of revealing the location of the wonderful deposit. However, the white sometimes a hundred dollars worth of staff. Then he agrees to meet the white man at a spotagreed upon from which to start.

Usually he never goes near the place, but being a loker as well as a bunco man, he does sometimes a meet the victim and start on a journey. It is a night journey invariably, and the utmost caution is necessary, he says no danger need be apprehended, a horrid host rises up on the first in white fear the victim is led on to a convenient place and then something happens. While tramping with more freedom than for sometime, because the guide says no danger need be apprehended, a horrid host rises up on any one has been imposed on a second time. The guide has gone to him on his return to town and has told a plausible story that induced him to put up the money for a second start. In these cases the victim was simply abandoned at the start or led into the reservation and

BIGGEST DIAMOND IN THE WORLD. Found by a Kaffe in Africa and Said to be Worth Half a Million Sterling.